

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ATHENS 04944 01 OF 02 150735Z
ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 INR-05 SP-02 NSC-05 CIAE-00
/035 W

-----068129 150745Z /21/12

R 141118Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6266
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
USMISSION USNATO
USCINCEUR
USNMR SHAPE
USDOCOSOUTH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 4944

LIMDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT PARA 2)

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, PINT, GR
SUBJECT: THE COMMUNISTS IN GREECE

REF: ATHENS 4455

1. IN TRODUCTION AND SUMMARY: THE COMMUNIST LEFT IN GREECE
REMAINS DOMINATED BY A PARTY TOTALLY LOYAL TO THE DICTATES AND
IDEOLOGY OF MOSCOW. LOCAL EUROCOMMUNISTS ARE WEAK AND APPARENTLY
GETTING WEAKER. BUT WHILE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE HAS
ASSERTED ITS CONTROL OVER THE COMMUNIST MOEMENT, IT IS STILL
RESTRICTED TO A NARROW SLICE OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM AND EXERCISES
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ATHENS 04944 01 OF 02 150735Z

LIMITED INFLUENCE IN THE COUNTRY. END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

2. COMMUNISM'S APPEAL IN GREECE IS LIMITED BY PERSISTENT ELEMENTS
OF HISTORY AND OF POLITICS:

-- THE LONG AND BLOODY CIVIL WAY (1943-49) REMAINS A WATERSHED.
HISTORY IS THE VICTOR'S POLEMIC, AND THE COMMUNISTS HAVE

NOT RECOVERED FROM THEIR LOSS IN THAT WAR OR FROM MEMORIES OF THEIR BARBARIC BEHAVIOR DURING IT. WHILE AN ATTEMPT IS BEING MADE BY SOME LEFTISTS TO RE-WRITE GREEK HISTORY, THEY HAVE NOT SUCCEEDED.

-- THIS IS A NATIONALISTIC LAND AND GREEK COMMUNISTS HAVE SO PERSISTENTLY CHOSEN MOSCOW'S VIEW OVER NATIONAL INTERESTS THAT THEY HAVE CONFIRMED FOR MANY THAT COMMUNISTS ARE NOT REAL GREEKS. AS ONE SPEAKER LAMENTED TO THE RECENT GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS, "THEY DON'T BELIEVE WE ARE PATRIOTS."

-- COMMUNISM IS IDENTIFIED WITH BULGARIA AND ALBANIA, NATIONS OF BITTER AND UNHAPPY MEMORY TO MANY GREEKS.

AS A RESULT OF THESE AND OTHER FACTORS, A KIND OF FUNDAMENTAL ANTI-COMMUNISM EXISTS AMONG MOST GREEKS OVER 30 AND MAY UNDER THAT AGE. THIS SENTIMENT IS STRONGEST ON THE RIGHT BUT IS BY NO MEANS RESTRICTED TO THAT SECTOR. IMPORTANTLY, IT IS ESPECIALLY STRONG AMONG THE GREEK POLICE AND SECURITY FORCES, WHO, FOR EXAMPLE, STILL PUBLICLY AND REGULARLY CELEBRATE THEIR VICTORIES OVER THE COMMUNIST FORCES IN THE CIVIL WAR.

3. ANY COMMUNIST MOVEMENT WOULD HAVE A DIFFICULT UPHILL BATTLE IN GREECE. THE GREEK G COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE EXTERIOR (KKE-EXTERIOR) HAS CHOSEN PERHAPS THE MOST DIFFICULT PATH OF THEM
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ATHENS 04944 01 OF 02 150735Z

ALL. IT HAS SUBORDINATED ITSELF TOTALLY TO MOSCOW. THOUGH SOME YOUNGER MEMBERS ARE UNHAPPY WITH THIS POSTURE, AT ITS RECENT CONGRESS THE PARTY ONCE AGAIN COMMITTED ITSELF TO "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PRELETARIAT. IN RETURN FOR ITS LOYALTY, THE PARTY GETS CERTAIN TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE REWARDS. IT CAN OFFER ITS RECRUITS THE FEELING OF BELONGING TO A "WORLD MOVEMENT" SUPPORTED BY A POWERFUL PATRON, ASPECTS THAT APPEAL TO THOSE DRAWN TO REVOLUTIONARY COURSES. MOREOVER, THE KKE (EX) HAS A SECURE AND STEADY SOURCE OF FUNDS WITH WHICH IT CAN OUT-RECRUIT AND OUT-ORGANIZE ITS RIVALS.

4. THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT THE KKE (EX) HAS USED ITS ADVANTAGES TO EXTEND ITS REACH:

-- IN THE NOVEMBER 1977 ELECTIONS IT ACHIEVED OVER NINE PERCENT OF THE VOTE AND ELECTED ELEVEN DEPUTIES.

-- IN LABOR THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE THAT THE COMMUNISTS, WHILE STILL A MINORITY FORCE, ARE EXTENDING THEIR CONTROL OVER AN INCREASING NUMBER OF LOCAL UNIONS. AS YET, HOWEVER, THEY CONTROL ONLY ONE NATIONAL FEDERATION AND THEIR SUCCESS IN THIS CASE WAS THE RESULT OF A MULTIPLE SPLIT OF THE ANTI-

COMMUNIST MAJORITY WITHIN THE FEDERATION.

-- THE EUROCOMMUNIST GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE INTERIOR (KKE-INTERIOR), STUNG BY ITS POOR SHOWING IN THE NOVEMBER 1977 ELECTIONS (ONE DEPUTY, ONE PERCENT OF THE VOTE), IS RIVEN WITH INTERNAL RIVALRIES, DISORGANIZED, AND IN DEEP FINANCIAL TROUBLE. BY SOME ACCOUNTS, ITS YOUTH MOVEMENT, ONE OF ITS FEW STRENGTHS, HAS A LARGE ELEMENT THAT IS MORE INCLINED TO TERRORIST VIEWS THAN "DEMOCRATIC" COMMUNISM.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ATHENS 04944 02 OF 02 141538Z
ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 INR-05 SP-02 NSC-05 CIAE-00
/035 W

-----053977 142004Z /12

R 141118Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6267
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
USMISSION USNATO
USCINCEUR
USNMR SHAPE
USDOCOSOUTH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ATHENS 4944

LIMDIS

-- YOUNGER GREEKS WHOSE POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS BEGINS WITH THE 1967-74 DICTATORSHIP AND CYPRUS ARE PROPORTIONATELY MORE DISPOSED TO COMMUNIST APPEAL. THE EXTERIOR COMMUNISTS ARE THE LARGEST SINGLE FORCE AMONG UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND ARE SEEKING TO MAKE INROADS IN HIGH SCHOOLS.

-- AS THE UNIVERSITIES GRADUATE MORE STUDENTS WHO ARE UNABLE TO FIND THE SORT OF JOBS THEY WANT, MANY WILL PROBABLY KEEP THEIR TIES TO THE PARTY.

5. IN A LIMITED CONTEXT THE ORTHODOX COMMUNISTS AND THEIR

FOREIGN FRIENDS MUST BE PLEASED WITH THEIR SUCCESS. ONLY
THREE YEARS AFTER EMERGING FROM ILLEGALITY, THEY HAVE BEATEN
BACK THE EUROCOMMUNIST CHALLENGE AND FIRMLY ESTABLISHED THEMSELVES
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ATHENS 04944 02 OF 02 141538Z

ON THE LEFT. BUT THE SUCCESS IS STILL QUITE LIMITED:

- MOST POLITICIANS DO NOT EXPECT COMMUNIST STRENGTH
TO RISE MUCH ABOVE THE TRADITIONAL AVERAGE OF 10 PERCENT
OF THE VOTE. FOR EXAMPLE, IN RECENT YEARS PASOK HAS BEEN
SUCCESSFUL IN GAINING AN INCREASING SHARE OF THE LEFTIST VOTE.
- IT IS CONFINED TO A POLITICAL GHETTO. EVEN ANDREAS
PAPANDREOU, WITH WHOM AN ALLIANCE MIGHT MAKE SENSE, IS
SEEKING TO DIMINISH HIS IDENTIFICATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS
TO BROADEN HIS APPEAL. COOPERATION BETWEEN THEM IS POSSIBLE;
A POPULAR FRONT IS UNLIKELY.
- NEITHER ITS VOTES IN PARLIAMENT NOR ITS CURRENT STRENGTH
AMONG STUDENTS, FOR EXAMPLE, MAKE IT A POLITICAL FACTOR
OF MUCH WEIGHT IN THE GOG'S CALCULATIONS -- THOUGH
THE LABOR EQUATION MAY BE CHANGING.
- IT KNOWS THAT IT IS RUNNING A CONSTANT RISK OF BEING
RETURNED TO ILLEGALITY IF IT SHOULD OVERPLAY ITS HAND.
THE FAR RIGHT GREATLY EXAGGERATES THE COMMUNISTS' CURRENT
STRENGTHS AND BLAMES CARAMANLIS FOR THE "COMMUNICATION"
OF GREECE. THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NO DESIRE TO RAISE THE
RISK TO THEMSELVES BY CHALLENGING THE GOG, EVEN IF THEY
COULD.
- THE SOVIET UNION, IS GENERALLY PERCEIVED AS BEING "PRO-TURKISH,"
AN IDENTIFICATION THAT DOES LOCAL COMMUNISTS LITTLE GOOD.
IN THIS REGARD, THE GOG'S RECENT WARM RECEPTION OF SOVIET
VISITORS (REFTEL) WAS UNDOUBTEDLY WELCOME TO LOCAL AND
MOSCOW COMMUNISTS.
- THE PARTY IS WEAKER AMONG INTELLECTUALS THAN THE COMMUNIST

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ATHENS 04944 02 OF 02 141538Z

PARTY OF THE INTERIOR. WITHOUT GOOD INTELLECTUAL LEADERSHIP,
THE ORTHODOX PARTY IS GOING TO HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTY IN
OVERCOMING ENDEMIC GREEK ANTI-COMMUNISM.

6. THE COMMUNISTS IN GREECE OFFER NO IMMEDIATE DANGER TO
GREEK DEMOCRACY; IN FACT, THEY SEE THEIR IMMEDIATE INTERESTS BEST

SERVED BY DEMOCRACY'S SURVIVAL. NOR DO THEY HAVE THE POLITICAL WEIGHT TO DETERMINE THE COURSE OF GREEK-U.S. RELATIONS, ALTHOUGH ON OCCASION THEY CAPITALIZE UPON CERTAIN ISSUES TO CONTRIBUTE TO ANTI-AMERICAN SENTIMENT. AS LONG AS IT SURVIVES, THE INTERIOR PARTY WILL BEDEVIL THE EXTERIOR, EMPHASIZING THE LARGER PARTY'S FOREIGN TIES. THE FAR RIGHT WILL CONTINUE TO EXAGGERATE COMMUNIST STRENGTHS AS IT PLAYS ITS OWN GAME AGAINST CARAMANLIS AND DEMOCRACY. IN SUM, THE KKE-EXTERIOR WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE AS A TROUBLESOME FACTOR IN GREEK POLITICS, BUT ITS INFLUENCE AND STRENGTH ARE UNLIKELY TO INCREASE SIGNIFICANTLY IN THE FORE-SEEABLE FUTURE.

MCCLOSKEY

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COMMUNISTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978ATHENS04944
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780252-0391
Format: TEL
From: ATHENS
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780663/aaaacbra.tel
Line Count: 236
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: a9aebc89-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: 78 ATHENS 4455
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2365147
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: THE COMMUNISTS IN GREECE
TAGS: PGOV, PINT, GR
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/a9aebc89-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014